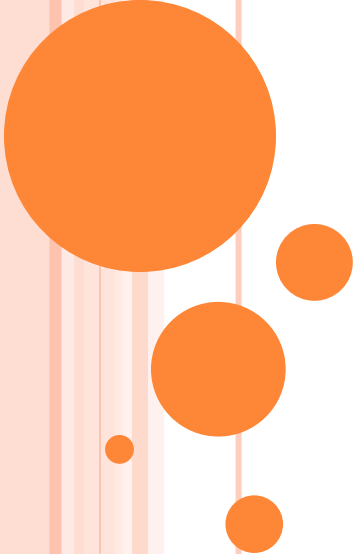




SPARTA: AN EXTRAORDINARY CITY

Lecture 19: Mantinea

REACTIONS TO LEUCTRA

Jason of Pherai

- Destroys Herakleia
- Expands North
- Assassinated in 370



REACTIONS TO LEUKTRA

As for the Thebans, immediately after the battle they sent to Athens a garlanded messenger, and while telling of the greatness of their victory, they at the same time urged the Athenians to come to their aid, saying that now it was possible to take vengeance upon the Lacedaemonians for all the harm they had done to them. Now the Senate of the Athenians chanced to be holding its sitting on the Acropolis. And when they heard what had taken place, it was made clear to everyone that they were greatly distressed; for they did not invite the herald to partake of hospitality and about the matter of aid they gave him no answer. So the herald departed from Athens without having received a reply.

Xenophon *Hellenika* 4.6.19-20



THE RISE OF THEBES

- The Spartan defeat at Leuktra revealed the rising star of Thebes.
- However not all Greek poleis were happy with a strong and possibly imperialistic Thebes.
- In the peace of 371/0 (immediately after Leuktra), which was instigated by Athens, Thebes did not participate.



THEBES AND DEMOCRACY

- Although the Boiotian League was an essentially oligarchic state, it appears that Leuktra provided momentum for a new democratic movement in various poleis.



DEMOCRACY AND FEDERALISM

As a natural result of these proceedings the Mantineans, feeling that they were now entirely independent, all came together and voted to make Mantinea a single city and to put a wall about it. But the Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, thought that it would be a grievous thing if this were done without their approval. They accordingly sent Agesilaus as ambassador to the Mantineans, because he was regarded as an ancestral friend of theirs. Now when he had come to them, the officials refused to assemble for him the Mantinean people, but bade him tell them what he desired. He then offered them his promise that, if they would desist from their wall-building for the present, he would arrange matters so that the wall should be constructed with the approval of Lacedaemon and without great expense. And when they replied that it was impossible to desist, since a resolution to build at once had been adopted by the entire city, Agesilaus thereupon departed in anger. It did not seem to be possible, however, to make an expedition against them, inasmuch as the peace had been concluded on the basis of independence. Meanwhile some of the Arcadian cities sent men to help the Mantineans in their building, and the Eleans made them a contribution of three talents in money toward the expense of the wall. The Mantineans, then, were occupied with this work.

Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.5.3-5



THEBES AND FEDERALISM

In the Peloponnese, the Lacedaemonians dispatched Polytropus as general to Arcadia with a thousand citizen hoplites and five hundred Argive and Boeotian refugees. He reached the Arcadian Orchomenus and guarded it closely since it was on friendly terms with Sparta. Lycomedes of Mantinea, general of the Arcadians, with five thousand men styled the elite, came to Orchomenus. As the Lacedaemonians led forth their army from the city a great battle ensued in which the Lacedaemonian general was killed and two hundred others, while the rest were driven into the city. [3] The Arcadians, in spite of their victory, felt a prudent respect for the strength of Sparta and believed that they would not be able by themselves to cope with the Lacedaemonians. Accordingly, associating Argives and Eleians with themselves, they first sent envoys to Athens requesting them to join in an alliance against the Spartans, but as no one heeded them, they sent an embassy to the Thebans and persuaded them to join an alliance against the Lacedaemonians. [4] Immediately, then, the Boeotians led out their army, taking some Locrians and Phocians along as allies. Now these men advanced against the Peloponnese under the boeotarchs Epameinondas and Pelopidas, for the other boeotarchs had willingly relinquished the command to these in recognition of their shrewdness in the art of war and their courage. When they reached Arcadia, the Arcadians, Eleians, Argives, and all the other allies joined them in full force. And when more than fifty thousand had gathered, their leaders sitting in council decided to march upon Sparta itself and lay waste all Laconia.



THEBES AND FEDERALISM

- Thebes was a proponent of federalism.
- In the inter-polis political scene in Greece, federal states were more likely to be Theban allies.
- With the Arkadian invitation, Thebes now had a convenient excuse for interfering in the Peloponnese.



THE FIRST THEBAN INVASION

- From Xenophon it appears that the possibility of helot revolt was the deciding factor in the Theban decision to invade Lakonia.
- Note also Xenophon's very brief reference to oliganthropia.



THE FIRST THEBAN INVASION

But while the Thebans listened to this request, they took into account, on the other hand, the fact that Laconia was said to be exceedingly difficult to enter, and that they believed garrisons were posted at the points of easiest access. For Ischolaus was at Oeum, in Sciritis, commanding a garrison composed of emancipated Helots and about four hundred of the youngest of the Tegean exiles; and there was another garrison also at Leuctrum, above Maleatis. The Thebans likewise weighed this consideration, that the force of the Lacedaemonians would gather quickly and that they would fight nowhere better than in their own country. Therefore, taking into account all these things, they were by no means eager to proceed into Lacedaemon. But when people had come from Caryae **telling of the dearth of men, promising that they** would themselves act as guides, and bidding the Thebans slay them if they were found to be practising any deception, and when, further, **some of the Perioeci appeared, asking the Thebans to come to their aid, engaging to revolt if only they** would show themselves in the land, and saying also that even now **the Perioeci when summoned by the Spartiatae were refusing to go and help them** -- as a result, then, of hearing all these reports, in which all agreed, the Thebans were won over, and pushed in with their own forces by way of Caryae, while the Arcadians went by way of Oeum, in Sciritis.

Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.5.24-5





THE LIBERATION OF MESSEANIA

Now Epameinondas, whose nature it was to aim at great enterprises and to crave everlasting fame, counselled the Arcadians and his other allies to resettle Messene, which for many years had remained stripped of its inhabitants by the Lacedaemonians, for it occupied a position well suited for operations against Sparta. When they all concurred, he sought out the remnants of the Messenians, and registering as citizens any others who so wished he founded Messene again, making it a populous city. Among them he divided the land, and reconstructing its buildings restored a notable Greek city and gained the widespread approbation of all men.

Diodoros 15.66.1



THE LIBERATION OF MESSENNIA

- The liberation of Messenia meant the end of Spartan supremacy.
- With the loss of Messenia, the basis of the Spartan economy, the excessive kleroi and the helots, were lost.
- Additionally, now Sparta had to contend with a large and potentially powerful enemy at its doorstep.



THE SECOND THEBAN INVASION

- In 369/8, the Thebans invaded Lakonia once again.
- However, this time the invasion was not quite successful, since reinforcements from Syracuse had reached Sparta.



THE HELOTS

As for the people in the city, the women could not even endure the sight of the smoke, since they had never seen an enemy; but the Spartiatae, their city being without walls, were posted at intervals, one here, another there, and so kept guard, thought they were, and were seen to be, very few in number. It was also determined by the authorities to make proclamation to the Helots that if any wished to take up arms and be assigned to a place in the ranks, they should be given a promise that all should be free who took part in the war. **And it was said that at first more than six thousand enrolled themselves, so that they in their turn occasioned fear when they were marshalled together, and were thought to be all too numerous;** but when the mercenaries from Orchomenus remained true, and the Lacedaemonians received aid from the Phliasians, Corinthians, Epidaurians, Pelleneans, and likewise some of the other states, then the Spartiatae were less fearful of those who had been enrolled.

Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.5.28



THE HELOTS

- Interestingly, the helots of Lakonia did not follow the course of revolt but supported the Spartans.
- However, Xenophon makes it clear that even so, the Spartans were afraid of the large helot contingent in their army and preferred the support of their allies.



THE PERIOIKOI

It now seemed somewhat more certain that they would make no further attempt upon the city; and in fact their army departed thence and took the road toward Helos and Gytheium. And they burned such of the towns as were unwalled and made a three days' attack upon Gytheium, where the Lacedaemonians had their dockyards. There were **some of the Perioeci also who** not only joined in this attack, but did regular service with the troops that followed the Thebans.

Xenophon *Hellenika* 6.5.32



THE PERIOIKOI

- Some of the perioikoi were ready to revolt and supported Thebes.
- However, it is interesting that there was no widespread revolt of the perioikoi, in spite of the support of a Theban force in Lakonia.



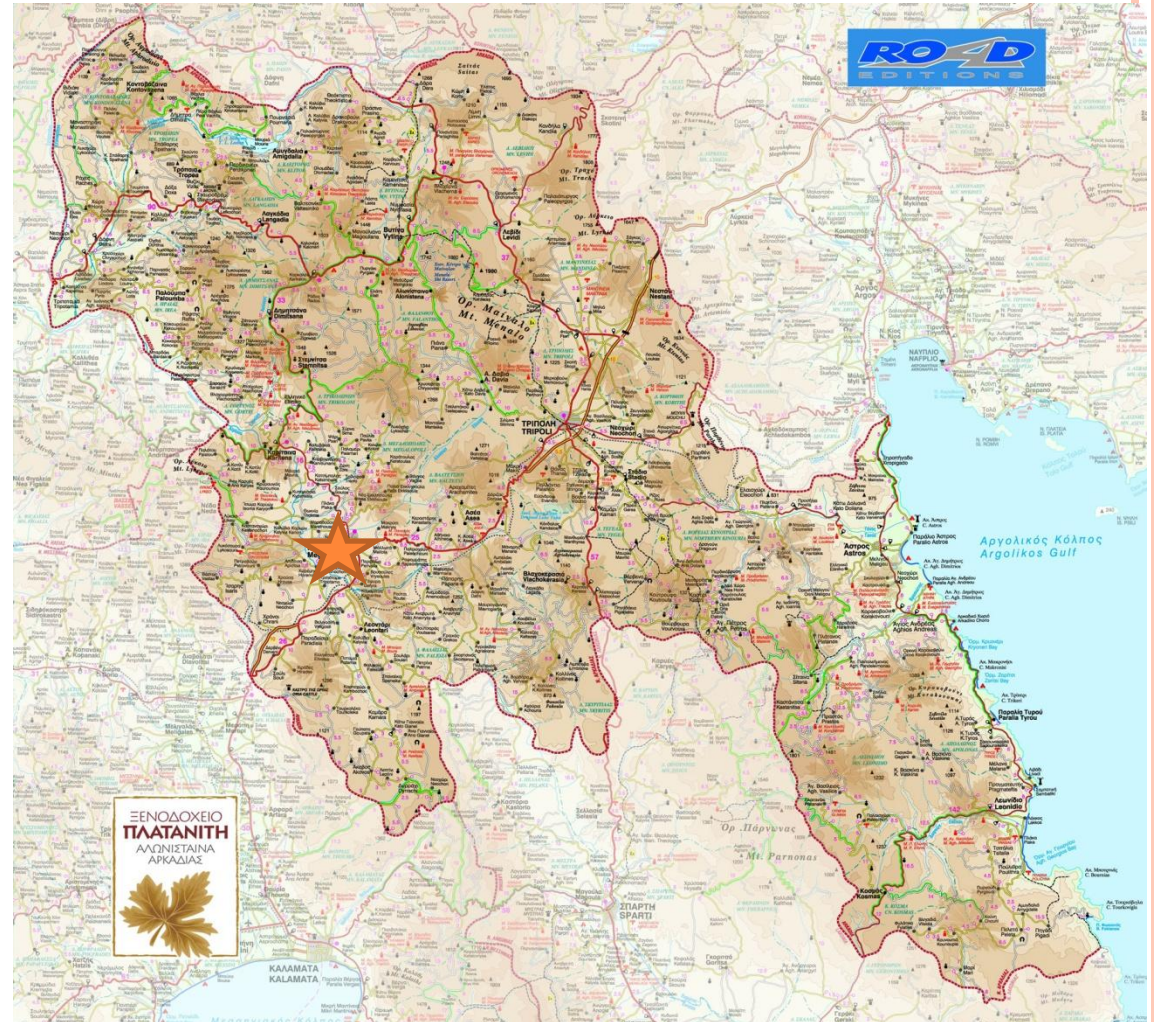
SPARTAN FEARS AND THE NON-HOMOIOI

- Judging from the 6000 helots enrolled to the Spartan army as reported by Xenophon, there was no shortage of personnel for Sparta.
- Spartan fear of helot revolt stopped the reinforcement of the army before the invasion.
- Even after Leuktra the Spartans were not ready to make drastic changes in relation to the helots and other non-homoioi groups



FOUNDATION OF MEGALOPOLIS

- 369/8 Founded with the support of Epaminondas
- Arcadian
- Anti-Spartan



SHIFTING ALLIANCES AND THEBAN PROBLEMS

- Thebes isolates Arkadia
- Athens hostile towards Thebes
- Thessaly hostile towards Thebes
- Rise of the 2nd Athenian League



SPARTAN REVIVAL: THE TEARLESS BATTLE

- Shortly after this the Lacedaemonians fought a great battle with the Arcadians and defeated them signally. Indeed since the defeat at Leuctra this was their first stroke of good fortune, and it was a surprising one; for over ten thousand Arcadians fell and not one Lacedaemonian. The priestesses of Dodona had foretold to them that this war would be a tearless one for the Lacedaemonians.



PEACE CONFERENCE AT SUSAN 367

- Thebes gains Persian support
- Thebes supports Elean claims to disputed territory with Arcadia



THEBAN PROBLEMS

- Arcadia allies with Athens
- Corinth break alliance with Athens and with Thebes
- Arcadia begins a war with Elis
- Arcadia begins to use sacred funds from Olympia
- Mantinea disapproves
- Epaminondas invades
- Thebes and Arcadia vs Elis, Achaea, Sparta, Athens



THEBAN INVASION

- Agesilaus returns from Satrap's revolt and is given command of army
- Agesilaus marches north
- Epiminondas marches towards Sparta
- Agesilaus returns and protects the city
- Battle outside Mantinea
- Thebans and allies winning until Epiminondas is killed
- Stalemate



AFTERMATH OF MANTINEA AND THE END OF XENOPHON

When these things had taken place, the opposite of what all men believed would happen was brought to pass. For since well-nigh all the people of Greece had come together and formed themselves in opposing lines, there was no one who did not suppose that if a battle were fought, those who proved victorious would be the rulers and those who were defeated would be their subjects; but the deity so ordered it that both parties set up a trophy as though victorious and neither tried to hinder those who set¹ them up, that both gave back the dead under a truce as though victorious, and both received back their dead under a truce as though defeated, and that while each party claimed to be victorious, neither was found to be any better off, as regards either additional territory, or city, or sway, than before the battle took place; but there was even more confusion and disorder in Greece after the battle than before. Thus far be it written by me; the events after these will perhaps be the concern of another.



THE END

- The Battle of Mantinea spelt the end of Spartan power in Greece.
- After Mantinea, Sparta is no more than a disinterested observer in Greek events, not even taking part in the fight against Philip of Macedon or Alexander's conquests.
- Sparta will not become part of the greater scene until the middle Hellenistic period.



COMMON PEACE

- Peace of 362 (koine eirene)
- Applies to all Greek states
- First peace since 386 which does not involve a foreign state
- Except Sparta
 - Agesilaus still in control of Sparta
 - Refuses to accept the lose of Messenia



SPARTA AFTER 362

- Peloponnese divided
- Sparta not dominate over southern half
- Agesilaus dies in 359
- Archidamas replaces him
- Same year Philip becomes de facto king in Macedon



3RD SACRED WAR - 356

- Control over Delphi
- Thebes had taken control after Leuctra of the Amphictyony
 - Fined Sparta (which it never pays)
- Archidamus gives 15 talents to Phocis to pursue the war



3RD SACRED WAR

- Phocis occupies Delphi in 356
- 353 Phocis defeats Philip in a battle
- 352 Philip marches south of Thermopylae and meets a combined force of Athens, Sparta and Phocis. There is no battle and Philip retreats



ACTIVITY IN THE PELOPONNESE

- 351 Archidamus and Agis attack Megalopolis with 3000 mercenaries
- No real success
- Hippodamus dies in the battle, he is in his 80s



CHAERONEA 338

- Sparta does not take part
- Sparta is not included in the “League of Corinth”



PHILIP'S INVASION OF LACONIA 337

- No uprisings
- No attempt to capture Sparta
- Removal of northern Laconian border lands





SPARTAN TERRITORY

FOLLOW-UP READING

- Plutarch *Life of Pelopidas*
- Pausanias *Periegesis* Book 4
- Pearson, L. “The Pseudo-History of Messenia and Its Authors” *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (Oct., 1962), pp. 397-426
- Alcock, S.E. “The Pseudo-History of Messenia Unplugged” *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (1974-), Vol. 129 (1999), pp. 333-341
- Tuplin, C.J. “Pausanias and Plutarch's Epaminondas” *The Classical Quarterly, New Series*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (1984), pp. 346-358

